What the German Generals Dream About The Next War, P. 3

The Worse The War in Vietnam The Finer The Double-Talk in Washington

"The Administration took the Bienhoa attack as an occasion to issue new warnings to North Vietnam and Communist China. It cautioned them against believing that after the election the U.S. would alter its Asian policies and move toward disengagement from the Vietnam war. Officials also insisted that while the new episode was important because of the losses suffered, it should not be taken as proof that the overall situation in Vietnam was deteriorating. In fact, high officials were adamant in maintaining that the Administration was greatly encouraged by the formation of a civilian government in Saigon last week and that it hoped that the stabilization of the political situation would be reflected in better conduct of the war effort." *—From Washington in the New York Times Nov. 2.*

"One year after the overthrow of the Diem regime, the war with the Communist guerrillas has reached a stage more desperate for South Vietnam than ever. The deterioration is both military and political, and it has touched all aspects of the life of a weary people."

—From Saigon, same page, same paper, same day.

"Officials indicated that as few as nine guerrillas, using captured American ammunition, had been able to damage in varying degrees jet aircraft with a replacement cost of $25 million."

—From the wrecked air base, same paper, same day.

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An Election to Make Us Proud of Our Country

The election returns make me proud of my country. The United States voted overwhelmingly for racial justice, for patience in foreign policy and for continuation of the welfare state. The landslide for Johnson was a landslide for a sane nuclear policy. The white backlash against the Negro proved to be a myth. In the East at least there were Polish and Italian neighborhoods which turned in bigger majorities for Johnson than they had for Kennedy; except in the South, racism fared far more poorly here than it did in the recent British elections. Coming on the heels of the strongest Civil Rights bill in our history, and in the wake of a Negro upsurge which threatened white supremacy in the skilled trades and the lily-white housing areas of the North, the vote showed plainly that conscience was stronger than interest in the white majority. The American ideal of the equality of man demonstrated its power. If we look about the world objectively, recalling the bloody recent clashes between so-called colored races in places like Singapore, noting that tribalism and racism afflict the human race all around the globe, the election results in America should hearten good men everywhere, and give our Negro fellow Americans a healing moment of surprise and pleasure. The result was achieved without demeaning compromise; Johnson picked as running mate the Senator most clearly identified with justice for the Negro, and he himself did not pull his punches on the racial issue even in his native South. On no issue was there a clearer verdict in this election, and we are grateful to Lyndon Johnson for it.

A New Dawn in The South

In the South itself, which Goldwater had hoped to carry solidly, the old order has been shattered. The one party system has been broken, and though the Republicans tried to be more lily-white than the Democrats, their emergence in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina must bring both parties around to seeking the Negro's good graces for he will hold the balance of power. The unprecedented heavy turnout of Negro voters in every Southern State except Mississippi, where they were barred by a murderous terror and blatant trickery, is a foretaste of the future. The victory of the liberal Yarborough in Texas, the defeat of the rightist Republican, Bruce Alger in Dallas, the reelection of the cou-

(Continued on Page Four)

An Unremarked Bit of Progress

A remarkable incident occurred—and went unremarked—in the closing days of the campaign. We refer to the President's warning to the steel companies not to raise prices, and Goldwater's failure to make an issue of this. Here were two candidates who have tried to outdo each other in devotion to free enterprise. Here we had the President, without statutory authority, deliberately interfering in the free market because he thought a steel price rise would be unwarranted and unwise, unwarranted because steel profits rose about 25% in the first 9 months of this year, unwise because it might set off an inflationary spiral. Such tinkering with natural law should infuriate every faithful follower of Adam Smith or Milton Freedman. The stock market dropped sharply Oct. 28 when the White House warning appeared on the ticker. This seemed to prove everything Goldwater had been saying about the Democrats. It was Presidential dictatorship, an act of economic planning, in short socialism, if not down right C-------m. But Goldwater was silent. Block of Inland Steel protested, "Prices should be determined by the free play of the market." Barry did not echo his cry. Neither did the other steel magnates. On the contrary they accepted the President's ukase (only in Russian, as you see, could one find the right word for it). There will be no general steel price increase. Creeping socialism has crept a long way when a country which talks as much about free enterprise as ours does, takes it for granted that the White House has a right to block a steel price rise, agrees that the rise would be bad for business and acquiesces in this unmistakable form of government economic planning. Obviously, without realizing it, we are face to face with a new consensus. "Free enterprise" seems to have lost the election.

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No Civilian Government, If Free, Will Continue An Unpopular War

The Next Big Surprise in Vietnam May Be A Call for Peace

We suggest that the peace movement call for a cease-fire in South Vietnam, and the holding of free elections by secret ballot under international non-aligned auspices. The daring attack on our biggest airfield just 12 miles outside Saigon indicates how little control we have managed to achieve over that unhappy country in three years of "advising" its military. Major Gen. Max S. Johnson, Ret., until recently head of the U.S. Army War College, just back from Saigon, writes in the Nov. 9 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* that our military there are now talking of "a 12 to 20-year war." We have no right to impose this on the Vietnamese against their will.

Very soon we shall have to decide whether to go on with the first steps toward civilian government taken in Saigon, or move back to a military dictatorship. Since every attempt at military dictatorship has failed, this time we will have to be the dictators. This means a large American expeditionary force to occupy and police the country. It is true that the new civilians talk of total war against Communism. But there are indications that all this is only for our benefit. Dennis Bloodworth reported to the *London Observer* (Nov. 1) from Saigon that the Americans face "a conspiracy of peace" which may soon pose "an even more acute problem" than the war against the Vietcong.

What The New Head of State Seeks

A free choice, if allowed, will lead to peace. Bloodworth cabled his paper that intimates of Phan Kac Suu, South Vietnam's new Head of State, "claim discreetly that behind this democratic demand for early elections to a new National Assembly lies one outstanding purpose: To arm the future Government with a popular mandate so it can negotiate peace with the Communists without its authority being challenged."

It is time to bring home to Americans the full cruelty of the war we have been supporting. "If I were a peasant," an American military adviser in Vietnam told the Associated Press in a dispatch we saw only in the *Baltimore Sun* Oct. 25, "I don't think I would be exactly overjoyed every time the usual government unit moves into my area on an operation. The regular soldiers have had no special indoctrination on the need to win friends and influence people. So they rob peasants blind, they force them into labor detachments, they burn down houses and raise hell generally—and act more like an invasion force than citizens of the same nation." These are the "liberators" on our payroll.

A former U.S. military adviser to Diem, from 1955 to 1960, Lieut. Gen. Samuel T. Williams, Ret., was interviewed in the Nov. 9 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* on why we're losing the war in Vietnam. It's not very impressive but the truth breaks through at two points. Gen. Williams recognizes that we may face a crisis when a civilian government asks us to get out so it can make peace. He also protests the indiscriminate bombing and napalming of villages "because every non-Communist in such a village is going to be a darned good Communist by the time you get through." This is one reason why the longer the war goes on, the stronger the guerrillas become.

"How can we explain to a mother when her child is burned by napalm?" Father Hoa asked in Manila recently (*N.Y. Times,* Sept. 1) when this famous anti-Communist Vietnamese priest was given the Magsaysay award. "And how can we expect a young man to fight for us when his aged father was killed by artillery fire? Indeed how can we claim to be with the people when we burn their homes simply because those houses happen to be in the Vietcong-controlled territory?" This is what lies on the conscience of America.

It Happened to the French, Too

"In addition to the environmental limitations, there was the enemy; an enemy who did not possess a single aircraft but who over the years had acquired a great deal of proficiency in anti-aircraft gunnery and in destroying parked aircraft and airbase installations in daring commando raids. The latter finally reached strategic importance during the battle of Dien Bien Phu, when a Viet Minh commando infiltrated the largest French airbase in North Viet-Nam, Cat-Bi, by crawling for more than a mile through the sewers.

"Cat-Bi, situated near the coastal city of Haiphong, was heavily fortified, surrounded by electrified barbed wire and mine-fields and watched even by infra-red devices, in addition to crack troops and watch dogs. By an incredible act of raw courage and stamina, the Viet-Minh raiders (who would have helplessly drowned in the sewers had there been even light rain that night) emerged directly in the aircraft parking area and attached explosive charges to eighteen of the transport planes virtually needed to supply the French garrison in a faraway fortress."

—Bernard B. Fall: Street Without Joy, *pps. 262-3, a new edition with much new material bringing up to date the story of the Indochinese wars (Stackpole: $7.95) especially recommended for its compilation in a new chapter of the falsely optimistic reports issued by U.S. authorities in 1963-4.*

All Deliberate Speed—Or How to Get Where You Don't Want to Go in 1,000 Years

Ten years after the Supreme Court's desegregation decision 98.8% of the South's Negro children are still in segregated schools. Even this figure is deceptively high. The statistical charts at the end of the Civil Rights Commission's 1964 report on education reveal that one state, Texas, accounts for more than half of the integrated enrollment. It has an estimated 18,000 Negro pupils in desegregated schools. By contrast, in Alabama there are 21 and in South Carolina there are only 9 Negroes going to school with whites. This is respectively .007% and .003% of the total pupils enrolled in desegregated schools. Mississippi had no school integration below the college level until this fall when a court order opened up three public school districts. In one of these districts, in Clarksdale, no Negro pupil tried to register at a white school.

In other Southern States desegregation is concentrated in a few school districts. Louisiana had 1,814 Negro pupils in desegregated schools, but these are located in only 3 out of 67 bi-racial school districts. In Georgia only 10 out of 181 bi-racial districts are desegregated; in Arkansas 21 out of 228; in Texas 289 out of 899; in North Carolina 61 out of 171; in Florida 21 out of 67; and Tennessee 58 out of 142.

At this rate—little more than one percent in a decade—it will take almost ten centuries to desegregate the South.

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What Some German Generals Dream Is What the Rest of Europe Fears

The MLF As A Posthumous U.S. Device to Help Germany Win the Next War

In discussing the MLF with a colleague, I turned up a prize item for an anthology of nuclear horrors. He had been talking with German military men in Washington, who are strong, of course, for this idea of a 25-vessel fleet each armed with 8 Polaris missiles on whose triggers the Germans would have a finger. The German fear is that in the event of a Soviet clash with Germany, the U.S. would not risk its own destruction by a nuclear exchange with Russia but would try to limit the war to Central Europe and conventional arms. I asked what difference the MLF would make, since the U.S. would still be able to veto its use.

The German military, he found, make a different calculation. They believe that a new war may begin with a suicidal nuclear exchange between U.S. and U.S.S.R. which would leave both in ruins. The Soviet armies, however, might still remain largely intact and would move westward, if for no other reason than to escape radioactivity and find food. With the U.S. out of the picture, the Germans could then take over and use the MLF to "interdict" and destroy these armies by nuclear bombardment, and emerge the victor from the Third World War! Obviously someone has been giving the German Generals Herman Kahn for Christmas.

Five Basic Counter-Arguments

I can think of better posthumous pleasures than the thought that we had arranged for Germany to dominate Europe once America had passed away. Unfortunately the Johnson Administration was committed to putting this monstrous device through Congress early next year in time to help Erhard win the next German election. The peace movement had better organize a counter-campaign quickly. An MLF treaty will have to be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. There is thus a fighting chance of stopping it. The main arguments against it are that (1) it is contradictory to McNamara's policy of recognizing nuclear overkill and shifting emphasis to conventional weapons (2) it cannot be reconciled with Johnson's policy of preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons, since many nations East and West fear MLF as a halfway house to a German nuclear deterrent, (3) it conflicts with the policy of seeking relaxation of tension, since putting a German finger on the nuclear trigger will be regarded by the Soviet countries as a hostile act (4) it will drive the Soviet bloc closer together helping to heal the rift between Moscow and Peking and (5) it will encourage those *revanchist* forces in Germany which look to a new showdown to regain their 1937 borders.

The MLF is supposed to tighten NATO unity. It will do the opposite. Unanimous opposition to MLF was registered at the opening of Norway's Parliament Oct. 23. The U.S. sees MLF as a means of weakening the bonds between Germany and France, and binding Germany closer to the U.S. It is therefore not surprising that de Gaulle is threatening to leave NATO if the plan is approved. The threat of a German-American "multilateral force" is being used to bring other reluctant NATO members into it. Here we are told the U.S. will always have a veto over its use, but the Germans have been encouraged by the State Department to believe that ultimately a system of weighted majority voting may be substituted. The Germans, as the largest European contributor, would have the biggest European vote under such an arrangement.

De Gaulle's threats and British Labor negotiations for a modified plan may delay, even possibly shelve, the plan, especially if enough popular opposition can be aroused. The Laborites campaigned against MLF but seem now to be proposing to accept a smaller MLF in a new joint NATO nuclear command to which they would contribute their own "independent" deterrent. The effect would be to water down German influence. This has already evoked a sour reaction from Bonn which wants to be No. 1 in the MLF.

And on A-Arms For Germans?

"London, Oct. 30—The British Government has decided to ban arms sales to South Africa. . . . An arms embargo for South Africa has the support of the whole Labor Party, but it has been particularly dear to its Left-wingers. There are signs now that the way Prime Minister Harold Wilson intends to cope with the foreign policy demands of left-wing Socialists in his Cabinet is to satisfy them on highly emotional but secondary issues such as South Africa, Spain, and Portugal's African colonies. But where necessary, he apparently will overrule them on such major issues as those involving Anglo-American relations, Germany and East-West negotiations."

—Washington Post Foreign Service, Oct. 31.

Belgian Statesman, Back from Cuba, Pleads for A More Humane U.S. Policy

A plea for joint European action to bring about a "rethinking" of the U.S. attitude toward Cuba is made by M. Raymond Scheyven in a series of four articles in Le Monde Oct. 27-30. M. Scheyven, brother of the Belgian Ambassador to the U.S., represents Brussels in the Belgian Parliament. He is a Catholic, a leading member of the dominant Christian Social Party and a former Minister of Economic Affairs. This visit was part of a tour in which he had interviews with Belaunde Terry in Peru, Eduardo Frei in Chile, and Castello Branco in Brazil as well as a 10-hour talk with Castro. In Washington, on his way home, M. Scheyven spoke with Secretary Rusk and later in New York to U Thant at the UN.

M. Scheyven reports that, despite great difficulties imposed by the U.S. blockade, most of Cuba's people are better fed than before the Revolution. He says progress is being made in mechanization of the sugar industry. He found the atmosphere less restrictive than in other Soviet countries and he thinks that, given peace, Cuba would evolve rapidly toward greater freedom. "It is for this reason," he writes, "that I doubt the wisdom of the policy adopted by the State Department." He found Castro willing to renounce all Soviet military aid if the U.S. withdrew from Guantanamo and made peace with Cuba. The Belgian found Latin American leaders dubious of U.S. policy and anxious for reconciliation, notably the newly elected Christian Democratic President of Chile, Eduardo Frei. M. Scheyven suggests that a united European policy on Cuba could make the U.S. realize that "like the cordons sanitaires of yesterday, the blockade of today cannot overturn the Cuban regime—the quarantine makes Cuba's little people suffer rather than weakening the team in power."

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People Ready to Translate Generalities About Peace Into Concrete Policy

(Continued from Page One)

rageously outspoken Weltner in Atlanta, were the gratifying highlights of the Southern returns. Those bloody streaks across the sky in Mississippi were the signs of a new dawn.

A Setback for Fascism

Had Goldwater been elected, the whole world would have felt a tremor of fear. In every country Fascist elements hoped for a Goldwater victory. Among the neo-Nazis in Germany, the Phalangists in Spain, the white supremacists in South Africa and Rhodesia and Angola, there was an instinctive feeling of fraternity for the man behind whom all the crypto-Fascist forces in our own country had rallied. His defeat is a setback to the paranoids everywhere. It is also a defeat for the military. His cave-man oversimplifications, his get-tough stance, reflected the dominant stereotypes of the military bureaucracy which has grown so strong on the cold war, but has failed to carry the country with it. The candidate of the know-nothings, of the Birchites, and of the ignorant rich failed to carry a single State outside the South except his native Arizona. In every class, in every region, and among every ethnic group outside the South, the verdict was against him. The suburban vote was particularly significant, for it showed that among the better educated, though the more prosperous, there was a sober readiness to accept welfare state, justice for the Negro and a crusade against poverty. How much has changed since the days when the well-to-do saw only a threat of Communism in the New Deal! The press, which was overwhelmingly against FDR a generation ago, was now overwhelmingly against Goldwater. This was a victory for the educated, and above all for the education which the New Deal gave this country. It is a pity Eleanor Roosevelt did not live to see these returns.

A New Maturity in The Country

Johnson won his victory despite the dirty campaign waged against him. Dirty campaigns are hardly new in our history. What was new was the sign of a new maturity and of a higher level of good taste in the electorate. The cheap and vulgar Miller antagonized the country; the reaction to the Jenkins affair showed that it had grown up. The McCarthy-style Red menace books with which the Goldwaterites flooded the country seemed to have an impact only on a minority already nutty. Something has been learned from the witch hunt years. Perhaps the most heartening aspect of the whole election was the fact that it so obviously turned on fear of what a man like Goldwater might do if his hands were on the nuclear trigger. However poorly informed on other matters, the electorate showed that it had instinctively and universally seized on the new facts of life in the nuclear age. The country realizes that we live on the brink of world catastrophe, and that the new weapons call for a new sobriety. We believe that the reaction of the country to the nuclear issue, which seems to have outweighed even racism in parts of the South, is the most hopeful development. The American people showed itself more intelligent than its political leaders have given it credit for. We believe that the country would be prepared to follow Johnson if he were now to translate his campaign generalities about peace and restraint into concrete peace policy on Vietnam, Cuba and China. The people have shown their confidence in Johnson. We look to him to show his confidence in the people.

Democracy Marches On (and Out) in Brazil

"Lincoln Gordon, U. S. Ambassador to Brazil, was quoted in Washington as saying that earlier fears in the U.S. that Brazil's military-backed government was anti-democratic had practically disappeared."

—Baltimore Sun from Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 22.

"A new period of tension between Brazilian politicians and military authorities appeared imminent to observers here today. . . . A number of State Governors—including Mauro Borges of Boias, accused of harboring Communists in his Administration—were under renewed military pressure. There were rumors that some military extremists would like to close Congress altogether and impose a military dictatorship. Mouro Andrade (President of the Senate) warned that 'not even President Castello Branco is immune from being the next victim.' He added, 'A regime is no longer democratic when a Lieut. Col. judges the President of the Congress; a Major, a scientist of world reputation; and a Lieutenant, a university professor."

—Washington Post from Rio, Oct. 27.

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